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usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Bove, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Yamana.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pains than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, at time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut-owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has unconsciously striven to attain.

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302 S14 If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for [illegible] candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any person of colors on the face is permissible and sufficient, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

302 S14 B7 Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, [illegible] candidates who visit their sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, [illegible] engagement appear in

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the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did to them during the festival of the [illegible]. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /485/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):279 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cisne-Bay Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; some were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

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264 574 regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

366. Earlier Despard (b):680 mentioned that the Yamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'smalleater' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other; the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

367. Bridges (MM:IX,13;1875), on April 20, 1874, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water; it then melts by itself and is known as *čegalěx* in this state. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported. 164 262

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 25, 1887 (MM:XXI,173;1887): "A canoe brought

/682 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
● [514] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands... live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indirowa, and the maternal aunt, yéxadibi (BD:645 writes yekadibi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

/786 cont./

881 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot
867 in the hut create /787/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wéllx [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were tí'tkipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of éllax /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 During these days the tí'tkipa is
302 also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 The conclusion of all the ob-
574 servances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called tí'tkipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the most of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the tí'tkipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/737 cont./

821 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell every-
514 one: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and
other things!" They are referring to the *čʷɛ́ɛkipa tam*, and
everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way.
Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Menses

841 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her
monthly bleeding, *čʷɛ́ɛna*, is inserted here. The *čʷɛ́ɛkipa* has al-
ready been told that "this occurence will be repeated with each
moon." It scarcely causes a woman /738/ any noticeable dis-
comfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blots
up the blood with a small bunch of *ɛ́ɛtɛ́ɛl* and burns it inconspicuously
in the hut fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the
woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself. "Is *only*
these are good for her!" She must practice composure and with-
drawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not so strictly
demanded of her as of a *čʷɛ́ɛkipa*, but a woman cannot take it
too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children.
Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence
the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills
this obligation (194).

194. Hahn's (x):804 opinion is not very accurate:
"Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise
to any particular practices and do not prevent
sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second
sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 868) made it not only possible for me
to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the
mythological interpretation of the menses as the Yamana tell it.

/775 cont./

practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

SH1 LG

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

593 LG 574

Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

> 208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians...maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p. 428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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/944 cont./

him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observations with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the ʒiɛ́xaŋ hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the ʒiɛ́xaŋ celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the ʒiɛ́xaŋ gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for the people in the ʒiɛ́xaŋ hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone, of course, wears his hapaxɛ́l. The uwʒala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

1: Gusinde--830 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S186 Yahgan S186

/946 cont./

X 391 S74

It is much more important, however, to put the Great Hut in order for the visitors. There is already a certain amount of order, and wherever some detail needs attention, everyone will lend a hand from the vantage point of his particular seat, but they are painfully exact about seeing to it that the remains of food and all signs of meals are removed. Nothing is to arouse the suspicion that eating goes on here. Hence everybody is very busy just before the visitors enter: the ground is swept, the fire and ashes tended to, dirt and refuse destroyed in the flames, and at his own place everyone puts his few possessions in order. A visit is always the occasion for an extraordinarily thorough cleaning of the whole interior of the hut. They wish to honor the arrivals with a room that is beyond reproach.

Visitors are not permitted to enter until impeccable cleanliness has been achieved. If someone should actually arrive too soon, that is, at a time when the occupants are still busy tidying up, they head him off in an effective, if impolite, manner. The person who sees the visitor lets out a loud roar and, with a stick, showers ashes and glowing embers through the entrance in his direction, so that he involuntarily /946/ steps back. This gives the occupants enough time to finish cleaning the Great Hut undisturbed.

At the proper moment a man inside will lift the piece of hide from the main entrance, and by doing so he clearly invites in all the visitors who have assembled in front of it. More often the wineshiwe steps out in front of the Great Hut through the main opening and invites them in. They follow his bidding and crowd through the entrance. They are received by extraordinarily loud cries of hŏ, hŏ... from all the inmates. For their part, they return these cries, and with short, dragging steps they meanwhile move through the interior of the hut in a compact line up to the opposite secondary exit. Here they turn around and go back again to the main entrance. Often the visitors are joined by a few of the regular inmates of the [illegible] hut, and in time to the everyday singing, the entire group dances over the fire area, lifting their dance staffs with rolling motions of their hands.

After this dance the visitors take their place near the main entrance which has meanwhile been cleared. The formalities are

1: Gumbs--881 E-6 (1918-1934) 1937 5215 Tahgan 5216

/946 cont./

X881 S74 limited to a stay of about two hours during which time the visitors remain seated, observe the procedure of the Eiwanga hut, and take part in group dances and games. At the very beginning the ulwéla are all specially introduced to the visitors. The ulwéla were assembled beforehand near the secondary entrance and were then painted with special care. For the time being they were hidden from the eyes of the visitors behind a narrow curtain of animal skins which was hung up for this purpose, or they were obliged to crouch behind adults who sit crowded together. At a signal from the leader, every sponsor leads his lyakuwéla to the visitors. They look at each ulwéla for some time, but do not say anything. Thereupon the sponsors accompany their wards back to their regular places. The purpose of this presentation of the ulwéla is to give the visitors a chance to see for themselves the candidates' healthy condition and well-being.

It is a particular honor for the inmates of the hut to have the visitors take part in the social games, which are, therefore, always introduced and go on for some time. In spite of all the gaiety and joy that predominate at this time, too, everyone present nevertheless maintains a recognizable well-bred reserve out of respect for the visitors. The latter finally leave without a farewell greeting and without any fuss, after they have had a satisfactory look at the activity in the Eiwanga hut. Those left behind now think about the participation of the visitors in their performances, while the visitors who have returned to the dwellings talk about their impressions for a long time. After a visit there is always deep silence in the Eiwanga hut; even the monotonous, uninterrupted /947/ singing sounds very soft and weak. There are no definite rules for the frequency of such visits.

X881 With this account we have probably exhausted everything in the way of formalities and duties that are incumbent on the adults during the Eiwanga celebration. They have been arranged in this presentation according to unified points of view. They show unequivocally how much the freedom of the adults also is curtailed. They love this restraint, however, and willingly accept it, for in it and by means of it every participant becomes "a genuine, true Temana again," according to old Albedo's convincing words.

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623 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skin. She stows and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

623 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 38), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family vacates oft sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

623 594 ● 597 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

622 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The men collects meat for the whole family, and the women gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/380 cont./

426 the mission ship. "When I last him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (Mid: VI, 85:1972).

436 577 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (388). We shall not speak here of this habit.

388. Hyades (II:243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ostentatiously in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from far or near always brings something along /381/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is quickly done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handiwork. The men often finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the women primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings.

/1029 cont./

534 alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

• 534 What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough; hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid [496] among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them.

1: Gumbo--918 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5916 Tahgan 5916

•574 and they cleave to these families wherever they meet them.

Aside from that, each family must now and then appear among their nearest relatives; otherwise the latter might suspect dislike or even animosity, and the former could not count on aid in an emergency. Anyone who has a crime on his conscience, however, remains hidden and for many months avoids being seen by others. Even if a hostile person should arrive on a visit -- this would happen only if the person were impelled by urgent necessity or were in the company of others -- he would never be refused admission by a Tamana. The visitor may stay as long as he likes; the owner of the hut would not by the faintest sign give the impression that he is tired of him.

No matter who arrives, he is received with warm hospitality, and this is especially true of relatives and good friends. If a family in a canoe sees another family on the water, they hasten toward each other and usually agree to head for shore where they will erect huts next to each other. A man on shore who sees a canoe coming toward him will hasten down to the water and say to the one who is disembarking: "Come quickly into my hut. I have a good fire, rest yourself there!" He will call to the man's wife: "Tie up your canoe quickly. You, too, come immediately to my hut, it is wet and cold out here!" The two men immediately go to the hut and the wife of the visitor will soon follow. They warm themselves at the fire and eat what the mistress of the hut offers them. They may near the entrance so that they can easily keep an eye on their implements and belongings. When they have refreshed themselves, are thoroughly warmed, and have rested sufficiently and talked a little, they get up and hasten out. The owners of the hut follow them, and all join forces to build a hut for the new arrivals. No matter who requests admittance into the hut of our Tamana, even if many people have to crowd together in the small space, they are always welcome and no one is sent away, least of all when the weather is threatening.

Just as every visitor is readily received, so that one scarcely /1811/ notices a difference in the treatment of friend or stranger, so is he generously provided with food. The owners of the hut spontaneously and regularly offer the best they have. They

1: Guainde--919 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 5918 Yahgan 5916

/1811 cont./

517 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):240 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dabbene (b):200 the Tamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

574 248 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Tamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

1: Gamble--920 E-5 (1919-1924) 1937 3206 Tahgan 5168

/1011 cont./

576 that everybody in the victinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and
smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a
great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns
otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously
aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attrac-
tive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their lan-
guage the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/.
In this respect they are exactly like the Seki'tsam (Vol. I, 474).

264 When the Foegians are by themselves, however, or in the
small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity oc-
casionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive
even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they
grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands,
put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces
with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out
of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their
arms and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick
their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded
whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary
cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts
that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The
Tamana drink large quantities daily.

● 574 Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
576 enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Con-
siderable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him,
and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to
converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves
again just as woodlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
574 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long
201

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini
(a):166 says, for example, and what Despard
(b):696 maintained in the following words:
"There are no gestures of affection amongst
them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake
hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists,
and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

/1013 cont./

576 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ēs yēlla, you may go": "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ēpa sf, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ēpa sf. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bēf hēpma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

• 574 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

574 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tēppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the ufwēala in the cīēxaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiexaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiexaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
576 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
576 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

574 575 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

574 571 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres- 201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "hăf."

576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo- 574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yĕkamuĭ at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children. 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yĕkusinăla /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

522 576 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 574 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

> 435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

1: Gualinda--927 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 1098 Yaigan 1098

/1817 cont./

431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 48), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth.
A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the *uwitala* in the *Kinaye*. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another
576 separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MS/:III, 11:1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

/1917 cont./

demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this. "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people together to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very charity" /cited in English/.

Yámaga and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

/1018 cont./

577
476

love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

437 [438] [808] [485] rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

968 428 Inheritance played a very minor rôle. Much or most of the deceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries. [462] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[572] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 3316 Yahgan 3316

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

976 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *ôâsaus* initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.

195 The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked.

847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took

844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

575

575 SOCIALITIES--prevalence of clubs, fraternities, and comparable voluntary associations; types (e.g., lodges, secret societies, men's clubs, women's clubs); organization, characteristics, and activities of each type (e.g., intersodality relationships; origin accounts, paraphernalia, etc.); selection of members; initiation; meetings; special rituals; etc. See also:

Medicine societies 76
Childhood 240
Mental health societies 488
Craft guilds and labor unions 647
Athletic clubs 680
Age-grades 861
Military societies 781
Veterans' organizations 782
Civil groups 784
Initiation or puberty 861

[Information on the Kina or men's society initiation ceremony will be found in category 116, pages 1202-1297.]

1: Gusinde--1454 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

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[348]

Kina Hut

Kalampasa Game

[347]

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

133

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-colaswala

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SI64 Tahgan SHS

956 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

[957] A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guardian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lower spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Wetasáwewe; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, propagandized, and so forth. 955 The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and sucking, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were found by another shaman. It was also the function of 958 the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yetkísel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yetkísel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

• 595 **Kina rite.**—This *Yokpas* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchibasa of the *Alamo[s]* (p. 78) and with the kiltakas of the *Gua* (p. 180), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the *Sétsaso* rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 38, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Ifbk Yahgan Ifbk

of spirits (pl. III, c). He dashed out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire punishment if they did not remain subjective to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

913 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the Yahgan have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1279–1296). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yahlna cycle. The elder of the two Yahlna brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the occurrent, the stars, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine men. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina ma with which it was associated, just as the Yahlna cycle was more or less associated with the fitzroya. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lukkina water spirits, and the Hkeeush giants.

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES

911 In general, Yahgan technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and allied industry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple Yahgan harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect Yahgan culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

203 804 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

9: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehlas* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

575 171

[535] [532]

Fig. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehlas*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *hókten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.